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PROPOSED PLANS FOR ACTION
IN EVENT OF LIBERATION OF HUNGARY

The following report describes plans for a program of action to be followed -- by the liberators and the liberated -- if Hungary were freed by the Western powers. The document illustrates the type and scope of the problems that the West would face if it liberated Hungary.

The original document is unsigned, and although the identity of the writer is unknown, his presentation and his advocacy of certain measures may indicate that he had a military background. The original is characterized by repetitious organization and incorrect grammar. A reference to German marks may be indicative of the author's whereabouts.

Although there is evidence in the document that the author is familiar with activities and, most likely, political undercurrents in French Zone Austria, he omits any mention of the numerous pro-Habsburg Hungarian emigres who, according to Hungarian newspaper reports, have found refuge there. It may also be significant that the document does not contain any of the pro-Habsburg or de Gaullist ideas prevalent among some of the officers of the French occupational forces in Austria.

The original document is undated. Although a note indicates that it was issued in numbered copies, the available copy is not numbered.

The salient points of the plan are as follows:

1. The writer begins with the premise that war with the USSR is imminent; that the West will quickly penetrate into Eastern Europe; and that the liberation of Hungary will come soon after the outbreak of hostilities.

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2. A Hungarian emigre committee is to be formed to propagandize liberation and to incite Hungarian troops to defection. The committee will also send men into Hungary to act as intelligence agents and to organize resistance. As compensation for these activities, the West must recognize the committee as a Hungarian government in exile with extraterritorial rights.

3. A Greater Hungarian Empire is to be re-established as a military power. A plebiscite in the Carpathian region must be so manipulated as to yield a favorable vote for Hungary, by whatever means are necessary.

I. EVACUATION OF HUNGARIANS FROM THE WESTERN ZONE IN CASE OF WAR

There are approximately 70,000 Hungarians living in Germany and Austria who, in case of an armed conflict between the Soviet Union and the West, would be caught in the theater of war. Since the course of military operations cannot be foreseen, in case of war all Hungarians must be rapidly evacuated from the areas east of the Rhine and north of the Tyrol. This task will be the duty of the Hungarian emigres in the West, because past experience shows that the Western powers cannot be counted upon to evacuate these masses or even to aid evacuation. The evacuation should be carried out along the following lines:

1. A census, showing name, occupation, age, size of family, and exact address of all Hungarians in the danger zone, will be taken.
2. The census will be revised every 2 weeks.
3. A map showing the geographic distribution of the Hungarians in the various Kreise (counties) will be prepared.
4. A reliable, courageous, and energetic leader will be appointed for each Kreis to maintain contact with headquarters.
5. Headquarters will inform the leaders of the actual situation every 2 weeks.
6. The Kreis leader will make a survey of the motor vehicles owned by Hungarians in his area, as well as of railroad transportation possibilities and highway conditions. He will also keep a record of Hungarian drivers and prepare a plan for the distribution of passengers.
7. If motorcars owned by Hungarians are not available, the Kreis leader will requisition other vehicles by using the manpower at his command. For this purpose he will keep a record of all able-bodied Hungarian men, without, however, making the plan public.
8. The Kreis leader will require all families to store sufficient food for 2 to 3 weeks.
9. The Kreis leader, in cooperation with headquarters, will designate the evacuation route and the assembly point, avoiding large cities to escape bombing.
10. It will be the duty of the Kreis leader and his staff to carry out the evacuation by force if necessary.

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11. All Hungarians, regardless of their conduct, will be evacuated. Every Hungarian, even if he is a scoundrel, is a valuable asset.

12. The Kreis leader will assure a speedy evacuation. A prerequisite for successful escape is that each family should carry only absolute necessities besides food.

13. The Kreis leader should be either an unmarried man or a man with a small family.

14. Reliable individuals from among the local Hungarian population settled west of the Rhine and in the Tyrolean mountains should be designated to find suitable locations for sheltering evacuated Hungarians.

15. The evacuation should follow the shortest route designated by military experts.

16. Contact between headquarters and the Kreis leaders will be maintained by correspondence. Alarm will be given by telegraph or radio. There will be three alarms: (1) for the Kreis leaders to stand by, (2) for the drivers, and (3) to begin the evacuation.

17. During the evacuation the Kreis leader will take proper measures for the safety of his vehicles, bearing in mind that other fleeing groups may attempt to capture the vehicles.

18. The combined group of Kreis leaders may order continuance of the flight.

19. Headquarters will issue detailed maps and evacuation directives to the Kreis leaders.

20. On arriving at their destination, the Kreis leaders will make arrangements for feeding and housing of evacuees.

A survey of 40 percent of the Kreise has been completed, while the evacuation plan, together with directives, is in preparation, and the designation of Kreis leaders is in progress.

The following help is expected from emigres in the West:

1. Propaganda in the interests of the Hungarians living near the Soviet orbit. The fact should be stressed that the evacuees will take care of themselves and will not be a burden on the Western armed forces. The Western powers could aid the evacuation by issuing surplus vehicles to refugees.

2. The help of the Red Cross should be enlisted, especially to care for women and children.

3. If vehicles are not available, the Kreis leader will form small walking groups of 10 to 20 members and will ask the Western armed forces to have these groups picked up by vehicles returning from the front.

4. A small committee will be organized, to ask the Western powers to help the refugees.

5. All Hungarian emigres in the West will be asked to help the refugees.

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II. SUPPORT OF THE WESTERN POWERS, BY MILITARY AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IN HUNGARY, DURING THE WAR OF LIBERATION

In case the present Hungarian regime should join the war on the Soviet side, the main question is whether the Western powers will treat Hungary as an enemy country, or whether they will treat the Communist leaders as usurpers and recognize a committee of liberation. To induce the Western powers to adopt the latter course, the emigres and refugees must prove the following facts:

1. No war guilt attaches to Hungary for joining the Germans in the last war, because Hungary was compelled to do so for self-preservation.
2. The present regime in Hungary maintains itself in power by terrorism and not by the will of the people.
3. Oppression in Hungary is excessive, because Bolshevism has been unable to destroy popular support of the West.
4. If Hungary is not treated as an enemy country, the population will turn against the Soviets, even in case of an atomic attack on Hungary.
5. Reconstruction in Hungary will be possible only if the state railways, the postal, telegraph, and highway networks, and the bridges remain intact. The Soviets will not demolish the industrial plants or remove their equipment. However, if the West should destroy property, the Soviets will follow suit.

Regardless of whether the West declares Hungary an enemy or the object of liberation, preparations should be made for the following tasks:

A. State Railways

1. Safeguarding railroad property, bridges, etc., from demolition by the Soviets.
2. Sabotaging Soviet transports and obstructing the removal of rolling stock by the Soviets.
3. Instigating railroad personnel to paralyze Soviet transports.
4. Drawing up orders to organize sabotage activities.
5. Organizing railroad detachments to take over railroad traffic for the invading Western forces.

Directives are in preparation for setting up four railroad groups and regulating the resumption of freight and passenger traffic, for the organization of maintenance crews, and for the prevention of sabotage. The texts of the proclamations and of pamphlets addressed to railroad workers are also being prepared.

Activities planned are: preparation of a detailed railroad map, English translation of the proclamations and pamphlets for benefit of liberating forces, illegal trips to Hungary to establish personal contact with the railroad personnel, smuggling of signal equipment into Hungary, etc.

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B. Post Office

1. Postal traffic must be resumed while military operations are still in progress. This task will be carried out in four stages: (a) courier service for the exclusive use of the authorities and search for postal personnel and equipment; (b) provisional postal service for the authorities only; (c) partial postal service for the general public; and (d) complete postal service.

2. Detailed preparations have been completed for the following: (a) regulations governing postal service in the four stages indicated above; (b) organization of two to four postal groups, which will start the postal service and which will depart for Hungary with the Western forces; (c) drawing up a list of requirements for the postal service; (d) resumption of the telegraph service; (e) listing postal property to be safeguarded from enemy action; (f) methods of paralyzing Soviet activities; and (g) recruiting new postal personnel.

3. Activities planned include issuance of the requisite materials, automobiles, rubber stamps and, later, postage stamps in series.

C. Public Administration

Public administration must be reorganized while military operations are still in progress. As a general principle, no one will be punished for his political attitude. All decrees issued since 1945 will be annulled, and government by decree will be proclaimed. Private property will be protected, but possession will be recognized. Everyone must continue his work until he receives a different assignment, both in public administration and in all branches of production. A supervisor will be assigned to each public administration agency. Criminals will be taken into police custody. Reorganization of public administration will be gradual according to the following provisional schedule:

1. Complete cessation of street and vehicular traffic in the liberated areas for 3 days. Public service employees will be issued passes, enabling them to go to and from their places of employment.

2. Liberation of political prisoners and organization of militia by the gendarmery. Only persons who held no official position since 1945 or were persecuted politically may join the militia. Personal safety and private property will be safeguarded by the police and the gendarmery, respectively. Disturbances will be repressed vigorously, but punishment for offenses will be the task of the courts.

3. A supervisor will be attached to the chief executive of each town. If the local administrative officials have fled, a provisional administrative committee will be set up.

4. The police, the gendarmery, and the militia will be ordered to ensure the maintenance of production and to set up labor battalions which may be needed for the proper conduct of military operations.

5. Proclamations, decrees, posters, and announcements incident to the reorganization of the public administration are currently being drawn up and should be printed in advance.

6. As Communist partisans will presumably be left behind, the liberated area will be treated provisionally as a zone of occupation. However, such zones should be restored to free status as speedily as public safety is assured by the organization of armed formations.

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7. Courts martial will be set up for the trial of robberies, thefts, murders, misuse of official power, and sabotage against military installations and public utilities. The decrees are in preparation and should be printed in advance.

8. It will be the duty of public safety agencies to ensure the orderly operation of plants serving the public administration.

9. Food shops and food-processing plants must resume operations immediately.

10. Power plants will be occupied.

11. Printing plants, horse-drawn vehicles, public conveyances, and the telephone network will be requisitioned.

12. The population will be allowed 2 hours a day for shopping during the first 3 days, and the daily shopping period will be increased in proportion to the improvement in public safety.

13. Police and gendarmery detachments will be forend in the West and transported to Hungary according to a prearranged schedule. These detachments will be supplemented in Hungary by a militia recruited from the ranks of reliable veterans.

14. The courts will resume functioning and the judicial personnel will be screened politically.

15. All changes effected since 1945 will be reviewed, including changes in land ownership, dismissals from employment, and expropriations.

16. Normal public administration will be resumed without delay.

17. New decrees, based on general legal principles and adapted to local usage, will be issued. Provisionally, all decrees will have uniform validity for the country as a whole.

Rapid resumption of public administration and of the administration of justice is a prerequisite for normal life. There will be no room for personal vengeance. Contact with the general public will be conducted with complete courtesy, limited by military strictness.

Public administration will be conducted provisionally in cooperation with the armed forces. For this reason, politically reliable interpreters must be employed.

Funds to defray the cost of preparatory work must be raised by the Hungarians in the West. Later, a loan may be negotiated, to be repaid from national financial resources after liberation.

To prevent the Communists from diverting the currency in circulation to their own ends, it will be necessary to issue new currency and to establish the ratio of exchange between new and old currencies before liberation. For this purpose a finance committee is to be set up. Experts are available, but tacit agreement to give their services, together with financial aid, is necessary. Detailed preparations for the drawing up of decrees, etc., should be made in advance, before receipt of the approval.

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D. Military Formations

Since the number of Hungarians in the West is not large enough to permit the formation of large armed units, a military committee should be created. This committee would, after liberation, integrate the Hungarian units into the liberating armies. The military committee must cooperate with the Western powers.

The object to be achieved is to liberate Greater Hungary. The following preparations should be begun immediately toward this end:

1. Organization of a secret service in the probable theater of war which would engage in reconnaissance by force, intelligence, and counterintelligence. This task can be undertaken only if the military committee is accorded extraterritorial rights by the Western powers and is recognized by them as an independent military organization. The moral force inherent in the recognition would enable the committee to accomplish immense results. The population of Hungary would not support the liberating forces with such boundless enthusiasm as they would a Hungarian military formation. The concession on the part of the Western powers would be in form only, since actually it would mean the enhancement of the strength of the Hungarian forces fighting on the side of the West.
2. A detailed plan specifying the place and time for the employment of Hungarian armed units behind the front is to be prepared.
3. The resistance movement in Hungary is to be organized. For this purpose a number of instructors must infiltrate Hungary by parachute or landing planes.
4. A detailed plan for paralyzing Soviet military operations is to be prepared. This task can be performed by Hungarian officers only, since they are familiar with the area and the liberating forces are not.
5. The objective is to destroy the enemy forces at the smallest cost to the West and to Hungary, although certain sacrifices will be unavoidable. The appropriate measures will be taken under the guidance of the Western powers.
6. Defection and withdrawal from action of Hungarian units must be attained by all available means. The following methods should be employed for this purpose:
 - a. Appeals for defection through a front radio and through handbills and posters
 - b. Appeals to the Hungarian Army to attack the Soviet forces. A tentative plan outlining the methods of such attacks should be prepared.
 - c. Military sabotage activities against the Soviets, such as blocking the flow of supplies and of replacements, defection of army elements, etc.
 - d. Instructions to the Hungarian forces to prevent destruction of property by Soviet forces (nonexecution of demolition orders, prevention by force, etc.)
 - e. Undermining the morale of the Soviet forces by radio broadcasts, handbills, posters, etc.
 - f. Furnishing replacements to the Western forces, performing reconnaissance tasks, etc.

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g. Since Greater Hungary is a military whole, with which the Hungarian officers corps is familiar in all details, the Hungarian armed forces should be employed in the entire area of Hungary during liberation.

h. Transportation to the theater of war from the West or from overseas of Hungarian military, administrative, postal, railroad, and other specialists. A card index, containing the names, addresses, and occupations of reliable Hungarian refugees, who qualify as experts in these fields, should be set up.

i. Enlistment of the civilian population for military resistance, for sabotage activities against the Soviets, and for furnishing aid to the Western forces.

j. Drawing up a list of communications and military objects (such as bridges, viaducts, railroad lines, military and food depots, power plants, telephone networks, etc.), which must be protected from demolition at all costs in the interests of the Western forces.

k. Ensuring by force the undisturbed functioning of the signal corps; guarding the signal equipment, and immediate enlistment of the necessary personnel

E. Propaganda

Propaganda activities are one of the most important tasks in preparing the liberation of Hungary. Propaganda has three objects: (1) enlisting Hungarians in the West for the preparatory work; (2) winning the support of the Hungarian population for liberation; and (3) undermining the morale of the enemy.

These three phases cannot be given separate treatment, since they must run simultaneously. Propaganda uses the following media: radio, press, and handbills. The program, according to these three media of propaganda, is as follows:

1. Radio

a. A radio group, including technicians, artists, and lecturers, is to be organized. The group, one of the most experienced in Europe, could appear before the microphone within 24 hours.

b. It would be desirable to silence Radio Budapest, either by bombing or by sabotage, during the first hours of the attack. As a result, enemy announcements would go off the air and the propaganda broadcasts of the liberating forces could use the Budapest wave length. It should be remembered that most receiving sets in Hungary are not equipped with short-wave bands and that it would be inadvisable to use the wave length of another European station. Real results could be achieved only by using the wave length of Radio Budapest I. Interference by the Soviets would be ineffective, since Western propaganda would be broadcast by 50-watt transmitters from Austria. It would be necessary to organize a fifth column within Radio Budapest, because silencing by bombing might prove costly. A detailed plan for the silencing operation is in preparation.

c. Broadcasts to the Hungarian population should be prepared in advance. These will include a call by the committee of liberation for popular resistance; a proclamation of the Western powers to the population of Hungary; broadcasts by well-known Hungarian emigres, etc.

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d. News reporting, employing a mobile transmitter, should be organized. Reporters and announcers are available.

e. Radio programs for at least 14 days, as well as the requisite equipment and materials, should be prepared in advance.

f. A well-organized radio service, including commentators, is equivalent to an excellently equipped division. Hungarian radio personnel have the longest experience in these propaganda methods and are familiar with the psychology both of the population of Hungary and of the Soviet soldier. The task should, therefore, be entrusted to them, although Rumanian, Serbian, Slovak, Croatian, English, German, and French announcers should be added to the Hungarian radio group.

g. It will be advisable to set up an anonymous station to interfere with enemy broadcasts and transmit fictitious Communist orders and announcements.

h. A "Communist Resistance" station should also be set up. The task of this station would be to transmit ostensibly bona-fide Communist broadcasts. These broadcasts would, however, be so provocative and fierce that they would confuse the Communists themselves and would align undecided people against them. Experience shows that this method causes the greatest confusion and is the most fruitful. The programs could be prepared partly in advance, and partly in the field according to given situations. It is essential that these broadcasts should not be transmitted by a station located in the West.

i. It is preferable to use portable transmitters within Hungary for creating confusion and broadcasting news. The operators, who could serve as intelligence agents at the same time, should be smuggled into Hungary.

2. Press

a. The press will draw up and publish the proclamations and decrees which will be broadcast by radio at the same time. It will also publish editorials by leading Hungarian emigres.

b. Local newspapers will resume publication in the liberated area. In the larger cities, publications bearing the names of Budapest newspapers will be started.

c. The requisite printing shops will be taken over.

d. The press will monitor and publish the radio news service.

e. One of the tasks of the press will be to keep the Hungarian emigres informed and to keep up their morale before the beginning of military operations.

f. A news service will be inaugurated in the interests of the Western powers.

g. Local reports and war news will be published, partly also for broadcasting by radio.

h. Ideological war with the enemy press.

i. The press will publish the writings of eminent Hungarian authors and poets and will endeavor to guide the sympathies among the emigres as well as among the population of the liberated area in the right direction.

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j. Preparations for setting up so-called press groups on the basis of card index of Hungarian newspapermen in exile.

k. Setting up a committee to screen Hungarian newspapermen for employment in the propaganda service.

l. Gathering evidence of Soviet methods.

m. Recording the liberation of Hungary for posterity.

n. Publication of decrees and articles on public safety, public administration, food distribution, postal and railroad services, etc.

o. Setting up a small printing press during the first few days of liberation as a safeguard in case a fully equipped printing establishment cannot be requisitioned expeditiously.

3. Handbills

a. Dissemination of decrees and proclamations in enemy-occupied territory to foster national resistance and undermine enemy morale.

b. Most of the handbills should be printed in advance.

c. Arranging for the distribution of handbills. In enemy-occupied territory only airplanes, while in the liberated areas first the postal courier service and later motor vehicles will be employed for this purpose.

d. To avoid delays, all decrees, proclamations, etc., will be disseminated by handbills and posters.

e. Handbills will be used to instruct the population on how to conduct itself, to extend support to the liberating forces, to promote work discipline, to ensure public safety, etc. In general, handbills will replace or supplement the press and radio broadcasts while military operations are still in progress.

f. All handbills must be translated into English and must be approved by the high command of the liberating forces. For this reason, particular attention should be given to the employment of translators.

F. Public Health, Red Cross

Undermined public health conditions and widespread epidemics should be expected in Hungary as a result of the military operations. It will, therefore, be of vital importance to send medical detachments to Hungary with the liberating forces.

These detachments will ensure immediate resumption of the public health service, build up a national Red Cross organization, and enlist the support of Western public health organizations.

A Hungarian Red Cross group should be formed in the West, with the task of establishing connections with the International Red Cross and the various national Red Cross organizations to alleviate need in Hungary after the liberation.

The medical detachments should prepare in advance a list of medicines and medical supplies, so that treatments and preventative vaccination may be given without delay. The work of the medical detachments will also serve the interests of the Western forces, because epidemics would decimate their manpower. In view of Soviet attitudes toward cleanliness, disinfection must also be given attention.

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All public health decrees, regulations, popular descriptions of prophylactic methods, posters, etc., must be prepared in advance. Since most of the public health measures are applicable also to the liberating forces, the foregoing material should be translated into English.

G. Food Distribution

It is to be expected that serious transportation difficulties will be encountered in Hungary during the first weeks after liberation. For this reason, it will be necessary to provide enough food for the population in the liberated areas, especially for the large cities, by employing horse-drawn as well as motor vehicles, railroad trains, and air transport. These tasks should be entrusted to a food distribution group with the following duties:

1. Safeguarding food depots from demolition by the use of Hungarian armed forces.
2. Disseminating propaganda by radio and handbills, calling on farmers to hide their food supplies and livestock.
3. Asking for voluntary food contributions in the liberated area by means of posters.
4. Organizing local food-distribution committees.
5. Requisitioning all food supplies and regulating their distribution. The group will require all food stores to report their supplies on hand.
6. Issuing a decree ordering all food-processing plants to resume operations immediately. Relieving labor shortages by inaugurating a voluntary labor movement or by drafting workers.
7. Freezing food prices and taking measures against the black market.
8. Referring all abuses in food distribution for court-martial proceedings.
9. Offering rewards in money or in clothing for voluntary food contributions and for delivery of the prescribed quotas.
10. Establishing connections with charity organizations abroad and with the liberating powers for food shipments.

Food distribution will be handled by county organizations, which will be discontinued as soon as normal conditions are re-established. Food rationing will be introduced temporarily, if necessary. However, it will be discontinued as quickly as possible because of its adverse effect on public morale.

Clothing and household articles will be requisitioned simultaneously with foods, but free trade in these commodities will be re-established as soon as practicable.

H. Welfare

Since robberies and destruction of property will presumably be unavoidable, provision must be made for the victims, as well as for the destitute and the wounded. The following measures should be taken to meet this exigency:

1. Organization of local welfare committees.
2. Compulsory housing of the homeless.

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3. Mandatory reporting of losses and reviewing of claims administratively or by special committees.
4. Providing funds for home relief.
5. Winning support from foreign charity organizations and the liberating forces.
6. Raising funds for relief expenditures.
7. Inaugurating clothing collection drives and food donations.
8. Requisitioning and distributing abandoned food supplies, clothing, housing, and other properties.

I. Financial Problems

The Communist Party will presumably safeguard its funds to carry on Bolshevik propaganda, to aid its fugitive members, and to finance subversive activities. For this reason, the currency in circulation should immediately be replaced by a new currency. The Communists would thereby be prevented from taking illegally acquired property out of the country, which would be unavoidable if the currency were to be exchanged at a later date. Also, the money issued by the Hungarian National Bank and in the possession of the fugitives would be used to under mine the financial situation of Hungary and to create inflation. The necessary measures to meet this situation are embodied in the following program: (1) a detailed plan should be prepared for the introduction of the new currency; (2) the ratio of exchange between the old and the new currency should be established; and (3) the financial requirements of the public administration, of the food-processing enterprises, of the post office, etc., should be ensured.

1. Emergency currency, which would have only temporary validity, should be printed, preferably before liberation. The new currency would be placed in circulation by the post office. Funds for public administration would be delivered by the postal service to local committees, and the methods of placing the currency in circulation would be determined by the committees. It appears best to entrust the management of the currency temporarily to the postal service, pending resumption of normal banking and governmental activities. This method will guarantee complete control over the distribution of currency.
2. The ratio of exchange between the old and the new currency should be one for one, since devaluation would create discontent. Only a small amount per capita should be released, to forestall inflation or accumulation by Soviet sympathizers. The old currency will be withdrawn from circulation against receipts which will be honored in new currency at a later date. All depositors must prove legal possession when delivering holdings of old currency for later exchange. The new currency will be issued in the smallest amount possible, to maintain its purchasing power and to forestall the development of a black market. Currency for raw material purchases and for wage payments will be made available to enterprises on the basis of applications approved by a public administration agency, by a military authority, or by the police. Raw materials stored in requisitioned state warehouses may be released to food processors on credit. Food delivered by farmers will be paid for in currency or an advance payment will be made pending regulation of prices. The amount of the advance payment will be regulated by decree.
3. Cover for the new currency will be provided in commodities, grains, and raw materials. A study should be made for the possible introduction of a wheat currency, because the gold stock of the Hungarian National Bank has presumably been removed from Hungary or will disappear. In any case, it will be

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insufficient to provide cover for a stable and internationally acceptable currency. The domestic purchasing power of the new currency should be established on a par with the Swiss franc. Regulations governing the cover for the new currency and bank loans are to be prepared.

* * *

Hungary's revival depends on whether, in case of war, the West will treat the country as an enemy or as an ally to be liberated. All means must be employed therefore to furnish proof for the following facts:

1. No war guilt attaches to Hungary because of its participation in the last war. It was a question of life or death for Hungary to fight on the German side against the Soviets. Actually, Hungary provided a protective barrier for the West against the immense pressure of Soviet power, until the Western forces penetrated deep into Europe and consolidated their position there.

The West must realize that part of the German High Command urged a compromise with the Soviets, which would have enabled Germany to throw its whole military strength against the Western forces. On the other hand, Hungary never sent any armed forces against the West, and the unauthorized use of Hungarian Army elements on the western front led to an extremely sharp exchange of notes between Horthy and Hitler.

2. The present regime in Hungary does not represent the people. Therefore, if the Hungarian government should declare war, responsibility therefor will rest on the agents of Moscow and not on the Hungarian people. To deal with Hungary as with an enemy country would, consequently, run counter to all human rights and honor. Hungary must be liberated and all patriotic Hungarians, both within and outside the borders of Hungary, must be permitted to do their part. In case of war a proclamation by the West, declaring that Hungary is not an enemy but an ally to be liberated, together with the admittance of Hungary to the UN, would impart to the national resistance a force which would sweep the Soviet and Communist forces out of the country. On the other hand, enemy treatment would result in the decimation and complete demoralization of the population.

III. CLAIMS FOR REVISION

This is the first opportunity, since the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, for Hungary's claims for revision of its boundaries to be heard without pressure from German or Slavic interests. Germany's interests would not interfere with a Hungarian revision. It is in the interest of Germany itself that order should be restored in the Danube Valley, since Germany's main source of food supply would thereby be ensured. On the other hand, Slavic expansion must be checked decisively by the West.

He who declares that Hungary is content with its present boundaries is an outright traitor. He provided Hungary's enemies with the most effective propaganda, with which they can prove that the Hungarians themselves refuse to regain their lost territories.

Re-establishment of the old boundaries is a question of life or death for Hungary, because it must be realized that Rump Hungary will be ground up between the Slavic and German powers unless it can regain the Carpathian Mountains.

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As for the regulation of the relationship between the Hungarian and the national minorities within the old boundaries of Hungary, solution of this question should be left to the nations of the Danube Valley as their internal affair. The Wilsonian plebiscite must be carried out under all circumstances. However, whether by propaganda or by force of arms, the lost territories must be restored to Hungary. To achieve this, the following program must be instituted immediately:

1. All-out propaganda for the re-establishment of Greater Hungary, using radio, press, lectures, private correspondence, and personal contacts. Every Hungarian should consider it his duty to further this cause and to make financial sacrifices for it. This is the prerequisite for the welfare of all Hungarians.
2. The world must be convinced of the following facts:
 - a. Rump Hungary is a liability for Europe and for the world.
 - b. Greater Hungary is the most perfect economic unit of the world.
 - c. Rump Hungary is an open gate, through which both the Germans and the Slavs can safely pass to threaten the peace of all peoples and the interests of the West. If a strong military power is established in the Danube Valley, there will be quiet in the Balkans and in the Near East; otherwise there will be constant trouble in these areas.
 - d. Greater Hungary constitutes the most perfect line of defense for the West against the East, today as well as in a future war of the continents. However, the Carpathian Mountains can be defended only if the whole Carpathian Range, as well as the Lower Danube, is in possession of the army of defense.
 - e. Hungary will be able to repay the foreign loans which it needs for reconstruction purposes if it has surplus production, which can be attained only by solving the problems of irrigation and electrification completely. A prerequisite for the solution of these problems is possession of the water basins of the Carpathians, which would provide the country with water and electric power.
 - f. All measures must be employed to guarantee that either a plebiscite in the Carpathian Mountains, or a decision of the Western powers on this area, should be in favor of Hungary. In view of this object, both legitimate and illegitimate steps must be taken to make sure that the region in question will be occupied by Hungary when the plebiscite is taken. For this purpose, it must be proved that the Hungarian armed and police forces are best adapted for the military occupation of the Carpathians, because the Hungarians are thoroughly familiar with this area. The most effective military and economic exploitation of Hungary can be assured under Hungarian leadership alone.
 - g. The Danube Valley belongs perforce to the power which creates order in that area, and it must be Hungary that will create order there.
 - h. It must be shown that the minorities in Hungary are, by themselves, incapable of national existence, and are valueless and represent a heavy burden on the world economy. Under a single leadership, on the other hand, they are a most valuable asset for Europe and the world.
 - i. It is also necessary to win the good will of the present and future German government for the support of Hungary's claims for revision.

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CONCLUSION

History was never made by the masses, but by small and determined groups. Such a small and determined group must be organized now. The small group is slow in assembling, however. The greatest handicap is the fact that the exchange of plans and ideas is slowed down by the great distances, and even more by lack of financial means. All efforts should be made to raise the necessary funds and to assemble the specialists needed for the preparation of this project. The agenda for this purpose is as follows:

1. Enlistment of specialists. This has been accomplished for the most part, but additional specialists are needed, especially in the fields of finance, food distribution, minority problems, medicine, engineering, and map making. Translators, interpreters, couriers, etc., are also needed.
2. Establishment of a headquarters with at least two paid employees, a typewriter, and stationery.
3. Purchase of multigraphing equipment for the dissemination of propaganda in English, German, French, Italian, and Spanish. The best results would be achieved by setting up a Hungarian news agency which would furnish the world press with articles, maps, pamphlets, and other publications with the Hungarian viewpoint.
4. Publication of a Hungarian periodical, and of a Hungarian news bulletin in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, and Britain. These publications would disseminate propaganda for the three aims dealt with above: evacuation, liberation, and revision.
5. Taking a census of all Hungarians in the world and furnishing them with propaganda material.
6. Appointment of reporters in all countries, to furnish headquarters with local political news at least once a week.

Raising the necessary funds by popular subscription among the 100,000 emigres would be impracticable. A smaller group willing to extend financial support and to work for the recognition of the organization by the Western powers must, therefore, be found.

This group must realize that the first man who sets foot on Hungarian soil and, if only in part, carries out this project will dictate the future course of the country, even if he should not find himself in complete agreement with certain influential foreign elements which may provisionally place someone else at the head of the state.

The same small group of men must be inspired by the will to help their native country with all their power, while preparations for the liberation of Hungary will be the duty of the committee.

A fund-raising campaign should, therefore, be initiated to ensure the final, detailed formulation of the project outlined above, to enlist the requisite personnel, and to acquaint the Western powers with the project. Operating expenditures of the committee, including traveling expenses, the cost of correspondence and of materials, etc., are estimated at approximately 1,000 to 1,500 German marks per month.

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